



## Bayh's 2010 issues resurface in '16

Wealth, residency, Obamacare, post-Senate career mark week

#### By BRIAN A. HOWEY

INDIANAPOLIS – In the fateful hours before Evan Bayh's February 2010 bombshell that he wouldn't seek a third U.S. Senate term, a waiter described a private confab in a downtown Indianapolis hotel that was attended by the senator, his wife and some of his closest supporters.

The waiter described the scene as Bayh loyalists pleading with him: "You just can't run." The details were



murky. Was it his looming deciding vote for Obamacare? Was it the emerging Tea Party movement that would help end fellow Sen. Dick Lugar's political career two years later? Was it the fact that the Bayhs found themselves much wealthier at this point than when he entered the Senate in 1999? Was it that the media attention would be afixed

to Susan Bayh, an attorney of unremarkable stature who ended up on a number of corporate boards where she raked in millions of dollars?

Continued on page 4

### Pence moves in Trump Inc.

#### By BRIAN A. HOWEY

INDIANAPOLIS – This latest week of Mike Pence's excellent adventure began under the cloud of gloom and a landslide Trump loss in the making. Instead of measuring for curtains in the Old Executive Office Building, Pence



allies were said to be scouting potential post-2016 options for a governor soon to be without a state.

At this writing, Pence seemed to have consolidated a stronger position within Trump/ Pence, Inc., when his long-time pollster, Kellyanne Conway, was elevated to manage day-to-day operations while Breitbart executive Stephen Bannon was made chief executive in the





## "Maybe it's just the mother in me."

- Kellyanne Conway, Donald Trump's new campaign manager and Gov. Pence's pollster, on how she doesn't like name calling and negative campaigning



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second Trump campaign shakeup this summer. It comes as a new Monmouth University Poll in Indiana shows the Republican ticket leading Clinton 47-36% with Gary Johnson at 10%.

Conway's ascension could signal greater influence by Pence on the Trump operations. Conway was Pence's long-time pollster who joined the campaign early this summer. It was Conway who suggested Pence to Trump as a potential vice presidential nominee and appears to have guided the nominee in the governor's direction. Pence was supposed to be Trump's liaison to conservative, evangelical and establishment Republicans. Even after Pence joined the ticket, establishment Republicans have continued to peel away from Trump's undisciplined campaign.

National and state news stories positioned Pence as Trump's apologist, clarifier and cleanup man. "I couldn't be more honored to be campaigning shoulder to shoulder with a man who I believe is going to be the next president of the United States," Pence said on "Fox News Sunday," adding, though, that he and Trump simply have "different styles." That came after a New York

Times article that claimed interviews with more than 20 Republicans who are close to Mr. Trump or in communication with his campaign, many of whom insisted on anonymity to avoid clashing with him, describing their nominee as "exhausted, frustrated and still bewildered by fine points of the political process and why his incendiary approach seems to be sputtering."

Speaking in Indianapolis last month, Conway called Pence a "window to party unity" after a fractious GOP primary fight. In her remarks to more than 1,000 members of ALEC, Conway urged the elected officials to heed the anxiety of Trump voters. They feel angst about the economy and national security, she said, and

they believe traditional political leaders have failed them because they are corrupt or out of touch. She said Trump has tapped a feeling among voters who increasingly ask, "Is it fair for me to work so hard to support people who aren't working at all?"

Conway isn't infallible. As Pence's pollster, her client wasn't prepared for the firestorm that 2015 Religious Freedom Restoration Act created, essentially ending Pence's own presidential ambitions. His defense of RFRA faltered on ABC's "This Week" when he stumbled over whether discrimination could occur in the public space. Pence is famous for adhering to a strict set of poll-tested talking points that were absent in April 2015, though Pence successfully breezed through a similar line of questioning

from Fox's Chris Wallace on Sunday.

Bannon's elevation from the red meat conservative website Breitbart seemed to imply that Trump would continue his aggressive nature. NBC News observed: In doing so, he's placing a campaign-defining bet on his raw political instincts to dig him out of a polling slump that's seen Clinton seize a significant lead nationally and in key swing states.

Conway, who will apparently travel with Trump and have a flow of survey data at her fingertips, can be seen as refining the billionaire's message and keeping him on something of a script, as opposed to the wheeling and dealing free lance optics that have consistently gotten the mogul off message and into the hot messes that Pence has tried to clean up.

"I have known Steve and Kellyanne both for many years. They are extremely capable, highly qualified people who love to win and know how to win," said Trump. "I believe we're adding some of the best talents in politics, with the experience and expertise needed to defeat Hillary Clinton in November and continue to share my message and vision to Make



Kellyanne Conway will now manage the Trump/ Pence campaign.



America Great Again. I am committed to doing whatever it takes to win this election, and ultimately become president because our country cannot afford four more years of the failed Obama-Clinton policies which have endangered our financial and physical security."

With just over 80 days left in the campaign, time is of the essence. Early voting commences on Sept. 23, the first of 35 states (including Indiana) to do so. The New York Times reported on Wednesday that early voting has become a critical, even decisive factor in presidential elections. President Obama was sufficiently ahead in the early vote in Iowa and Nevada in 2012 that his campaign shifted resources from those states to others. Nearly 32% of voters cast their ballots before Election Day in 2012, according to census data, compared with 29.7% in 2008 and 20% in 2004.

This means that
Trump/Pence has a little
more than a month to
change the dynamic before
actual votes are cast.
The news coming this
week wasn't good news
for the ticket. An NBC/
Survey Monkey Tracking
Poll shows Hillary Clinton
leading Trump among registered voters nationally by



50-41%. Even more crucially, Clinton is demolishing Trump on the question of who has the right personality and temperament to be president: 42% of voters say Clinton does, versus only 17% who say Trump does, according to the Washington Post. A Post poll in swing state Virginia shows Trump trailing 14% and a Monmouth Poll in Florida shows Clinton leading 48-39%.

Other national and state polls showed the Trump/Pence ticket quickly regressing, including NBC/Wall Street Journal swing state surveys in Florida (Clinton up 44-39%), Virginia where Clinton is up 13%, Colorado with Clinton up 14% and North Carolina where the Democrat leads 48-39%. It has become a widespread notion that a landslide, a tsunami, a blowout (however you want to call it) is in the works. This comes atop the Clinton campaign deciding to make a play for red states such as Utah, Arizona, and Georgia while halting advertising in Florida, Colorado and Virginia to concentrate on voter turnout, an element the Trump/Pence campaign does not have.

While some Republicans hope this brings the so-called "pivot," Trump suggested on Tuesday that he won't evolve. "I am who I am. It's me," Trump told Wisconsin news station WKBT-TV. "I don't wanna change. Everybody talks about, 'Oh well, you're gonna pivot, you're gonna' — I don't wanna pivot. I mean, you have to be you. If you start pivoting, you're not being honest with people."

#### Pence allies ponder future

This past week, after he spent most of it claiming

that President Obama was the "founder" of the terrorist caliphate ISIS, doubled down with Pence alternatively defending him and bashing the media, Trump fooled us all, saying it was just "sarcasm," adding, "I love watching these poor, pathetic people (pundits) on television working so hard and so seriously to try and figure me out. They can't!" Trump would move away from that, saying over the weekend that while he was being sarcastic, he wasn't being that sarcastic.

Trump seemed to acknowledge a "tremendous problem" in Utah. He was asked by CNBC how he planned to reverse the trend, Trump responded, saying he simply planned to do "the same thing I'm doing right now. At the end, it's either going to work, or I'm going to, you know, I'm going to have a very, very nice, long vacation."

Sifting out in the national press came word that Pence and his team are already looking beyond Nov. 8. Politico reported that barring a sharp turnaround, Pence's allies will "need to focus on minimizing the damage" if he aims for a political career after Election Day. "Mike has done a good job distancing himself from Trump even as his VP choice, and as odd as that is as a campaign dynamic, it's showing that his principles come first, however much some think he has compromised his principles," Politico quoted a Pence ally. This comes after Pence ditched a long-time stance as a free trade advocate for the Trump position, and

embraced the proposed Muslim ban he once called "offensive" and "unconstitutional."

The New York Times reported: "Behind the scenes, Mr. Pence and his team of loyalists are waging an equally challenging campaign, hoping to position him as a compelling national politician for a post-2016 landscape. Even if the Republican ticket fails in the battle for the White House, Mr. Pence wants to preserve his future viability, a goal that has created a delicate dance for him, leaving him wary of offending Mr. Trump and his base, while also eager to ingratiate himself with the Republican establishment. So far, Mr. Pence has performed this awkward two-step quite nimbly."

It is impossible at this point to figure out where Pence will end up on Nov. 9. A 50- or 49-state blowout akin to Reagan over Mondale in 1984 could make anyone associated with Trump radioactive.

Pence could come off as the so-called adult in the room among Republicans, or those who remain in the party. But Pence is shifting his position on trade, the Muslim ban and other issues, calling into question how committed he really is to the cause, or whether he is so ambitious that anything is on the table to achieve a result.

Republican insiders paint First Lady Karen Pence as a career-long filter. He wouldn't have run for Congress in 2000 after two unsuccessful campaigns without her imprimatur. The Pence inner circle is extremely tight and Republicans paint Karen Pence as the key gatekeeper, ever protective of his reputation and legacy. There's no ques-



tion that the First Hoosier Couple decided in late June that this epic roll of the dice was worth it.

Many speculate that a Nov. 8 loss could position Pence for a Fox News TV show that would keep him in front of 2020 primary voters. He could challenge U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly in 2018, giving him a national platform. Even his Indiana allies see Pence more as a legislator on a con-

spicuous soapbox rallying true believers than a successful executive.

But Pence's Indiana viability depends on how the ticket performs in his home state. He was in a flagging, but winnable reelection battle. He endorsed, campaigned with and cut a TV ad for Ted Cruz, only to watch him lose the Indiana primary to Trump 53-37%. And Pence still



has some skin in Eric Holcomb's campaign. If a large chunk of the \$7.4 million Pence war chest doesn't end up with the new nominee and he loses a race he could have won with the proper resources, that would be a huge black mark.

#### **Epilogue**

We are witnessing, hour to hour, day to day, week to week the national ascendency

of an Indiana governor, coming in the most unprecedented and peculiar circumstances imaginable. At this juncture, it is impossible to know where it all ends up.

How this all plays out and where governor and vice presidential nominee Mike Pence ends up will be one of the most fascinating political stories of our times. .



#### Bayh, from page 1

Whatever the reason, Bayh decided to drop out of the race just hours later, and just hours before the end of the filing deadline, forever changing Hoosier politics. It would ignite what HPI called the "Bayh dominoes" with U.S. Rep. Brad Ellsworth, State Rep. Trent Van Haaften and State Sen. Bob Dieg all hurriedly filing for races they were destined to lose. It set off a chain of events which would root the Democratic Party out of its river county warrens, with no congressional seats and only a couple of Indiana House seats left below U.S. 50 by 2014. Many traditionally Democratic county seats and city halls went Republican. And Bayh sat on close to \$10 million for six years, money which might have helped put John Gregg over the top in his 2012 gubernatorial race against Mike Pence, where he came up less than 3% short.

Bayh's decision transformed the Indiana Democratic Party to Lake, St. Joseph and Marion counties, and a handful of university and college cities and towns.







**HPI Status: Leans Trump/Pence** 

#### Governor

President







**HPI Status: Leans Gregg** 

U.S. Senate







**HPI Status: Leans Bayh** 

Bayh's decision had actually been in the works for months. Seated in the Oval Office before the president in early September 2009 was Bayh. "Are you 100 percent sure?" President Obama asked. "I'm 98 percent sure," Bayh responded to his one-time Senate colleague, rival for the Democratic nomination, and boss had the Indiana senator been selected for Obama's 2008 ticket. The news Bayh brought to Obama was that he planned to retire from the Senate in 2010.

The implications were vast. A virtually "safe" Democratic Senate seat would almost certainly come into play in Red State Indiana despite Obama's stunning once-in-a-generation breakthrough. And the young president and his political team knew that the sprawling policy agenda they were in the midst of hammering out would create treacherous political currents for Obama's first midterm election. It was a seat that former Sen. Dan Coats would reclaim nine months later.

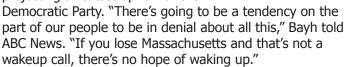
No one was predicting Obama's Democrats would lose control of Congress – and most



improbably the Senate – then. Certainly Evan Bayh defending his Indiana seat was part of the calculus. While his father, U.S. Sen. Birch Bayh, had never won this seat by more than 5 percent, Evan Bayh was a landslide artist, winning twice with more than 63 percent of the vote.

But on President's Day, Feb. 15, 2010, Bayh dropped his bombshell, after the Obama team had spent

the intervening months trying to keep him in the fold. It came just under two weeks after Coats announced his comeback, fulfilling a 1998 showdown with Bayh that he decided to forego in an equally stunning decision. After months of Bayh's self-admitted "procrastination," the earth was shaking. Republican Scott Brown had won the late Ted Kennedy's Senate seat in January. Within hours, Bayh was projecting a "catastrophe" for the



Caught unaware was the Indiana Democratic Party. Bayh had resurrected it with his breakthrough 1986 secretary of state win, institutionalized it with his 1988 gubernatorial win that set off a four-term streak on the Statehouse second floor. He then pulled up the stakes two decades later, reemphasizing a complaint within the party and labor circles, that it was "all about Evan."

No wonder that Rep. Ellsworth would stand with DNC Chairman Tim Kaine at the Indiana Democratic Editorial Association convention just prior to Labor Day 2010 at French Lick, quipping, "I would like to thank Evan Bayh – I think – for this opportunity."

#### I'm baaa-acck!

After years of muttering and angst within a party that sank and sank, Evan Bayh came back in July. The year prior, he declined to run for governor, the job he always said he truly loved, because the Republican legislative super majorities would have prevented him from governing the way he did between 1989 and 1997.

But the times they were a-changin', with Senate colleague Hillary Clinton now the Democratic presidential nominee, with Baron Hill's money haul languishing, something that Bayh's massive war chest could have solved overnight. There was the emergence of Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump, with all the telltale signs as an instigator of GOP disaster, when Bayh dropped the second bombshell of his career. Hill was out, Bayh was back. It almost lent credibility to Joe Scarborough's speculative story that Bill Clinton and Donald Trump had had a long conversation in 2015, that his presidential run was a corporate branding lark, and that the Trump dog

had caught the car.

One could easily imagine the Clintonian presidential whispers into the senator's ear: "Come back, Evan. Hillary will be president. She needs a Democratic Senate. Indiana could put her over the top. Win the seat, help pull my good ol' boy buddy John Gregg into the governor's office, and that cabinet post you always wanted could come

in a couple of years."

"One of the reasons I decided to retire was to spend more time with my twin boys and my wife," Bayh would say about his return in July. "I am proud of that decision and cherish the time I've had with them. Now, I see their future, and all of Indiana's future, put at risk by a broken political system. I'll work every day to put progress ahead of partisanship and to earn the support of Hoosiers so that we can get back to getting things done for Indiana."

In an HPI Interview, Bayh added, "There's only one reason to do this and that's to help middle class families in Indiana with their challenges. And I want to deal with some of the divisiveness in Washington. There is no other reason. So I want to focus on bringing good jobs and good wages, college affordability for our kids, enforcing trade deals to insure that other countries aren't ripping off our jobs and products. That kind of thing, that's all it's about. I talked to my wife and sons. Fortunately I married a wonderful woman. Just on a personal level, I'm 60 years old now and I want to know that at the end of my days, whenever that arrives, that I made as big a difference as I could. That's it. That's all."

But a month into Evan Bayh 3.0, some of the issues that were poised to haunt and confound him before a volatile mid-term electorate are still there. The overall environment just isn't as hostile.

#### **Bayh the millionaire lobbyist**

This past week Republicans were loading everything, including the condo kitchen sink, into the anti-Bayh howitzers.

CNN reported that he used his multi-million dollar Georgetown house as his official address when he donated to Hillary Clinton last year. There was his \$53,000 Indianapolis condo, where he is registered to vote and listed on his Indiana driver's license, that at least lends him more cover than Sen. Lugar had when a similar issue overran him in the winter of 2012. Bayh's monthly electric bill was a mere \$20.

CNN reported that Bayh pushed back at an interviewer last month when he was asked if he would move back to Indiana now that he is running to win back his old Senate seat. "I've never left," he told WISH-TV. It turns out he did. A CNN review of public records since Bayh left office in 2011 shows the Democrat repeatedly listed his two multi-million-dollar homes in Washington as his main



places of residence – not the \$53,000 condo he owns in Indianapolis. Just three weeks after leaving office in 2011, Bayh changed his address to his \$2.3 million home in a leafy neighborhood in Washington, according to Indiana records. And often when Bayh registered his address, whether it was on an Alaska fishing license, a donation to Hillary Clinton or on the deed to his beachfront property in Southern Florida, he listed Washington as his home. Even when Bayh returned back to Indianapolis last summer for an Indiana Democratic Party dinner, he stayed at a JW Marriott just 12 miles away from his condo.

Buzzfeed reported that Bayh moved his personal

foundation from the Faegre Baker & Daniels address in Indianapolis to K Street in Washington.

Bayh delayed filing his financial disclosure that was due this week. "Tick Tock: Bayh on the clock to disclose personal finances by August 12," was the heading for an email Young's campaign sent to media Aug. 3. Bayh now has to make the disclosure on Oct. 9, just over a month before Election Day. The Young campaign can only hope it contains a cluster of little bomblets, or perhaps a big blast.

The Huffington Post reported: Since leaving Capitol Hill, Bayh has cultivated a very lucrative second career in serving on corporate boards, earning nearly \$4 million over the last five years. Since

2011, Bayh has served on the board of directors at five corporations: McGraw Hill Education, Marathon Petroleum, Berry Plastics Group, Fifth Third Bancorp and RLJ Lodging Trust. Bayh's campaign denied that the former senator's corporate record will influence his lawmaking.

"Hoosiers know Evan as the independent-minded senator and governor who put Indiana first and it's why they continue to support him by a huge margin," Bayh campaign manager Paul Tencher told HuffPost in an email. "If elected, Evan will resign these positions but that won't stop his opponents from trying to misrepresent his record. Too bad for them; it just won't work."

The IndyStar's Tony Cook reported: During his final months in the U.S. Senate, Evan Bayh broke ranks with most of his fellow Democrats several times to oppose or reduce the impact of legislative proposals that threatened the bottom lines of private equity firms, banks and oil companies. But that wouldn't be Bayh's last interaction with those industries. Within weeks of leaving public office, Bayh became a senior adviser to Apollo Global Management, one of the world's largest private equity firms. Several months later, he landed lucrative corporate board appointments at Fifth Third Bank and Marathon Petroleum.

Bayh declined comment on the Star story, with

campaign spokesman Ben Ray saying, "Evan Bayh's career has been about standing up for Hoosiers, including taking on Wall Street Banks and Big Oil to end 'too big to fail' and close special tax loopholes."

And pressed by WIBC's Eric Berman, Bayh tried to swat away the residency issue, saying he's "deeply connected to Indiana – always have been, always will be." Bayh insisted he has returned to Indiana often, and says anyone who goes to Washington on the state's behalf has to "keep one foot back in Indiana."

Here, Bayh can find some cover. Indiana's U.S. senators tend to go to Washington, and they don't come

back. Both Evan and Birch Bayh, Vance Hartke and Dick Lugar remained in Washington after their Senate careers ended. In the case of Birch Bayh, Hartke and Lugar, those careers ended in defeat. Dan Quayle went back to his boyhood state of Arizona. Coats left, then came back and bought a house.

The Fort Wayne News Sentinel editorialized: "A big reason Richard Mourdock deposed Sen. Richard Lugar in the Republican primary in 2012 was that so many Hoosier voters thought Lugar had gotten too cozy with the Washington establishment. And if anything, the sentiment against entrenched politicians is even stronger now than it was

four years ago. But Hoosiers have good reason to ask whether Bayh is

really running to represent Indiana's best interests or just yielding to the pressure from the Democratic establishment in Washington that sees a chance to take the Senate back from Republicans."



Sen. and Mrs. Bayh.

#### Bayh's high water mark

In a year of extraordinary twists, the Bayh comeback story has created another unprecedented shift. Never have we seen Senate candidates swap out. Now it's occurred simultaneously with the GOP gubernatorial ticket and the Senate race. Young went from a three-to-one money advantage over Hill to a 10-to-one cash disadvantage against Bayh.

On Wednesday, a Monmouth Poll in Indiana gave Bayh just a 48-41% lead, one of the closest in his career.

Four years after \$50 million spilled into the campaigns of Lugar, Richard Mourdock and Joe Donnelly, the same might happen with Young and Bayh. Since Bayh entered the race in late July, \$8 million has been spent on this race, about \$4 million by and on behalf of both Bayh and Young, according to Trevor Foughty, Young's campaign manager.

Young promises to be the most prolific fundraising opponent Bayh has ever faced, but with two internal Dem-



ocratic polls showing him trailing by close to 20 points, Young faces a time crunch. Much of his funding will come from Super PACs, of which he has no control over the message and timing. And Young has issues to use against Bayh that would appear to resonate with voters who want to throw the D.C. bums out. Bayh is a D.C. beast. He grew up there. He raised his sons there. He stayed there after leaving the Senate. The Republican's campaign and the affiliated Super PACs are already using those issues.

And Young has the potential millstone of Donald Trump weighing down a potential comeback.

Bayh could be seeing his polling high-water mark, but he has the potential to more than match the Republican dollar for dollar. Certainly in Hoosier history, and perhaps in senatorial campaigns, have we ever witnessed a \$10 million man materialize like a political apparition. **HPI Horse Race Status:** Leans Bayh. •



### Monmouth Poll has Trump up 11%, Bayh up 7%, tossup gov race

#### By BRIAN A. HOWEY

INDIANAPOLIS - The first independent polling in Indiana since the national conventions give Donald Trump an 11% lead over Hillary Clinton, Evan Bayh up 7% over Republican Todd Young, and the gubernatorial race between Lt. Gov. Eric Holcomb and Democrat John Gregg a dead heat.

The Monmouth University Poll suggests similari-



ties to 1988, when Hoosier voters elected the Bush/Quayle ticket as well as Bayh governor.

WTHR/Howey Politics Indiana will be releasing three independent polls in September, October and November.

Indiana Democrats were

quick to note that the Monmouth sample was +13% Republican.

Among Indiana voters likely to cast ballots in November's presidential election, 47% currently support Trump and 36% back Clinton. Another 10% intend to vote for Libertarian Gary Johnson, with 5% who are undecided. About the same number of Republicans back Trump (84%) as Democrats who back Clinton (87%). Independents are divided at 38% for Trump and 34% for Clinton, with 18% supporting Johnson.

"Pence is likely boosting the GOP ticket's prospects here, as Indiana voters really don't like either of the two presidential nominees. In fact, their favorability ratings are among the lowest the Monmouth University Poll has found anywhere we've polled," said Patrick Murray, director of the independent Monmouth University Polling Institute.

Just 33% of Indiana voters have a favorable view of Trump with 54% holding an unfavorable opinion of him. Clinton's ratings are slightly worse at 28% favorable and 62% unfavorable. On the other hand, most voters (54%)

approve of the job Pence is currently doing as governor and just 35% disapprove. A majority (58%) also say that agreeing to be Trump's running mate has not affected their opinion of Pence, although 23% say they now think less highly of him and 17% think more highly of him.

In the U.S. Senate race, Bayh holds a 48-41% leader over Young, a much narrower margin than two partisan Democratic internal polls that showed Bayh with close to a 20% lead. Libertarian Lucy Brenton had 4% and 7% were undecided.

It comes comes after Bayh, Young and their super PAC allies have dumped \$8 million into the race since Bayh replaced Baron Hill as the nominee in late July.

While 76% of Trump supporters are backing Young, 16% say they will split their ticket and vote for Bayh. Among Clinton supporters, 89% will vote for Bayh and just 3% will split their ticket for Young. "If Bayh can hold on, this will be a crucial pick-up in the Democrats' effort to retake the Senate," said Murray.

Nearly half of Indiana voters (46%) have a favorable view of Bayh and just 19% have an unfavorable view, with 35% expressing no opinion. Young is not as well-known, with a rating of 29% favorable and 15% unfavorable, while 55% register no opinion of him.

There have been some questions about Bayh's last-minute decision to run for his old Senate seat. Indiana voters are more likely to see this move as Bayh just wanting to get back into politics (42%) rather than a desire to serve the public (31%). Another 4% see it as both motivations equally and 23% have no opinion.

The race to succeed Pence as governor is currently the closest of the three statewide races polled by Monmouth in Indiana. Holcomb at 42% is virtually tied with former legislator and 2012 gubernatorial candidate John Gregg (41%). Another 4% support Libertarian Rex Bell and 13% are undecided. "Gregg was involved in one of the closest governor's races in Indiana history when he faced off against Pence four years ago. This one could be even closer," said Murray.

"It's very much out of line with every other internal and external poll we've seen," said Jeff Harris, spokesman for the Gregg campaign. "We are confident in our strong position and don't put much stock into these numbers."



Holcomb campaign manager Mike O'Brien said Holcomb will continue Indiana's forward momentum.

"Hoosiers want a governor who represents the right track and will continue to build and grow Indiana. We can't afford to go back in time to the days of debt and uncertainty. We need proven and responsible Republican leadership to make Indiana the best place to live, work, play and stay," he said.



Indiana voters face an interesting election this year in that two of the four major party nominees for governor (Holcomb) and senate (Bayh) were actually chosen after the primary winners withdrew from those races. Nearly 6 in 10 voters say that having these nominees chosen by party committee rather than the voters bothers them, including 31% who are bothered a lot by this and 26% who are bothered a little. Another 40% say the candidate "switcheroos" do not really bother them.

The Monmouth University Poll was conducted by telephone from August 13 to 16, 2016, with 403 Indiana residents likely to vote in the November election. This sample has a margin of error of +4.9 percent. The poll

was conducted by the Monmouth University Polling Institute in West Long Branch, N.J.

#### Pence money slow to flow

At the risk of becoming the Cuba Gooding Jr., character in the movie "Jerry Maguire," Howey Politics Indiana has been asking, "Show me the money!" when it comes to Gov. Mike Pence's war chest.

Another week has gone by and thus far, only \$1.25 million of Pence's \$7.4 million

campaign funds have made it into the coffers of Lt. Gov. Eric Holcomb. Holcomb campaign sources have told HPI they expect close to \$5 million to migrate to Holcomb; he had \$20,000 in his campaign account when he received the nomination from the Indiana Republican Central Committee on July 26. Three days later, Pence moved what many Republicans believe to be the first part of the funds.

Holcomb's pitch to the Central Committee was that he would have access to the bulk of Pence's funds, with a suggestion that U.S. Reps. Susan Brooks and Todd Rokita wouldn't. Brooks had \$1.3 million in funds and Rokita \$1.5 million they could have transferred over immediately.

On Friday, the Indiana Secretary of State's large contribution site posted a \$250,000 donation from the





RGA Direct PAC. Holcomb campaign spokesman Pete Seat told HPI on Sunday that the RGA contribution is a "new investment." The Democratic Governors Association is contesting the Holcomb campaign's intent to use "permissible" campaign funds from Pence to fuel Holcomb, who has name ID under 20% and entered the nomination with a mere \$20,000.

Between Aug. 3 and 8, Holcomb did raise \$105,000 in large contributions, a figure Gregg matched during the same period. Gregg has already raised more than \$10 million and has been running statewide TV since May 5.

Time is of the essence, as early voting has moved up schedules. Holcomb not only needs to define himself, something he has yet to do, but also to try and paint Democrat John Gregg in an unflattering light.

Holcomb has picked up an additional \$125,000 in large donations since Aug. 3, according to the Indiana Secretary of State's campaign finance website as of Wednesday. On Aug. 8, Holcomb picked up a \$50,000 donation from Ralph Amos of Alexandria and \$10,000 from Jeffrey Taylor of Carmel. On Aug. 3, Holcomb received \$25,000 from Golars LLC of Fishers and \$20,000 from Grinder Singh of McCordsville. On Monday he picked up \$10,000 from former legislator Troy Woodruff of Vincennes and on Tuesday, \$10,000 from Indianapolis businessman P.E. McAllister.

Since July 25, Democrat John Gregg raised \$125,000, including Indiana 3rd CD Democrats, \$10,000; Drive Committee, \$50,000; D. Michael Harding, \$10,000;

James Baise, \$10,000; and Michael G. Browning, \$25,000; \$20,000 from Kuldeep Singh of Muncie. Gregg has already raised more than \$10 million.

Sources tell HPI that neither the Pence nor Holcomb campaigns had reserved TV air time for the coming three months.

### **Pssst ... Pence and Holcomb campaign**

On the face of it and in normal political times, a rainy Saturday morning in Columbus would have been a prime earned media and photo opportunity for Republican vice presidential nominee Mike Pence and his Republican Lt. Gov. Eric Holcomb. Pence returned to his hometown to campaign with Holcomb at the Upland Columbus Pump House and John Willy's Restaurant, with a quick

stop at a downtown farmers' market. But the Trump/Pence campaign did not release this stop on any Pence itinerary and Holcomb's campaign schedule had the nominee solo Saturday morning.

This peculiar sans-media campaign style comes after a Republican canary in the coal mine moment this past week. An internal poll for Democrat gubernatorial nominee John Gregg not only had him leading Holcomb 46-39%, but showed that Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton are tied in Indiana at 44%. Granted this was a partisan poll, but the Holcomb head-to-head with Gregg could actually be seen as a silver lining, since Holcomb has yet to mount a consistent statewide TV campaign. The Holcomb/Gregg head-to-heads are consistent with internal GOP polls HPI is aware of.

Holcomb campaign spokesman Pete Seat told HPI, "Omitting Gov. Pence from the media advisory was purely a security consideration. There are limitations on announcing his movements that we had to adhere to as well. The national press pool covering the governor (which includes NBC, CBS, Fox, all with local affiliates, not to mention an AP Indianapolis correspondent who travels with the governor) made all three stops, as did the Columbus Republic." The Trump campaign routinely makes public Pence's schedule, times and venues well in advance, but sources tell HPI that Secret Service sweeps at the planned venues complicated advance media notification.

A loss by the Trump/Pence ticket in Indiana would be another bizarre political twist for Gov. Pence, who entered 2016 facing an arduous reelection rematch

against Gregg, endorsed and campaigned with U.S. Sen. Ted Cruz in the primary, only to see him lose to Trump 53-37%. Trump's vice presidential invitation gave Pence an escape hatch, but as that campaign flounders, Pence's political future is as murky as the Wabash River.

Holcomb could have benefited from Saturday's joint appearance, but other than local coverage in the Columbus Republic, and a New York Times article by Yamiche Alcindor that painted Pence as speechless when asked about releasing his tax returns (which he later confirmed on WABC that he will), there was no statewide media coverage. None of the Indianapolis TV stations covered it, nor did the IndyStar, Associated Press or any of the Statehouse press corps.

According to the Columbus Republic, Pence and Holcomb were met by about 40 people at the Upland Pump House, including Mayor Jim Lienhoop and State Rep. Milo Smith.



Lt. Gov. Eric Holcomb with Gov. and Mrs. Pence at Joe Willy's in Columbus on Saturday. (Columbus Republic Photo)



The governor and Mrs. Pence bought some Indiana sweet corn at a downtown farmers' market. There, Pence emphasized to the Republic that he is still governing. On Friday, Pence met with Veteran Affairs officials at the Indiana War Memorial and visited Indiana Supreme Court Justice Geoffrey Slaughter, whom he nominated for the post last spring. He also received a briefing from Indiana Health Commissioner Jerome Adams on the zika outbreak.

"It's all just a matter of keeping first things first," Pence told the Republic. "My job as governor is job one." But Pence has dodged the Indiana media, other than an interview with WTHR-TV's Kevin Rader, who spent a day on a Pence campaign swing in the eastern U.S. Pence has done an array of national interviews, but has not done a formal interview with Indiana reporters during an ABATE event or at the Indiana State Fair opening.

#### **Gregg TV ad takes aim at Holcomb**

A new TV ad for Democrat John Gregg began running over the weekend and it takes direct aim at Republican nominee Eric Holcomb. The ad's voiceover says, "Eric Holcomb. Handpicked by Mike Pence to run for governor. Pence gave over \$1 million to Holcomb's campaign. No wonder Holcomb says he'll run on Pence's record." The ad goes on to say Holcomb has a record of "wages not keeping up, a failed economic record," and "teaching to the test." It's the first time a Gregg TV ad has named Holcomb as his opponent, who has yet to mount a statewide TV ad campaign. "John Gregg must not believe his own internal poll. He has spent \$3 million this year on television ads compared to Eric Holcomb not spending a single penny," said communications director Pete Seat. "If Gregg was truly up by six points, he wouldn't feel the need to attack



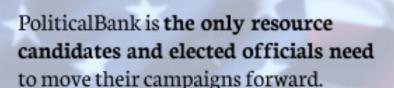
Eric with false and debunked claims about Indiana's thriving economy. "Concern in John Gregg's campaign has clearly set in. Why else would they run flat out false attacks

against Eric Holcomb? Wages are going up, we have a AAA credit rating from all three bond rating agencies and Eric is on the record saying overtesting is counterproductive. "That's three strikes in one ad. Our opponent can continue embellishing his record, supporting irresponsible policies and contradicting himself, sometimes just seconds later, while Eric Holcomb and Suzanne Crouch focus on accelerating Indiana's momentum and how to make Indiana the best place to live, work, stay and play."

#### **Crouch talks transparency**

Republican lieutenant governor candidate and state auditor Suzanne Crouch spoke with the Rotary Club

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of Kokomo Tuesday afternoon, where she emphasized the importance of government transparency and demonstrated the information available on Indiana's online transparency portal (Neuenschwander, Kokomo Tribune). Crouch said transparency is one of the most important functions of government, and quoted founding father Patrick Henry to highlight that point. The transparency portal provides detailed information about how and where tax dollars are spent. Crouch said she, as auditor, is responsible for the database's maintenance. She went over the information it contains, such as Indiana's budget, saying taxpayers can see how their money is being used. She said 58 percent of Indiana's budget goes to education, 13 percent to Medicaid and the rest is distributed to everyone else.

#### Congressional

#### Brooks, Rokita return to 5th, 4th CD ballot

Republican U.S. Reps. Todd Rokita and Susan Brooks reclaimed their spots on Indiana's November ballot Saturday after withdrawing their congressional candida-

cies to try to replace Mike Pence, who joined Donald Trump's ticket (WISH-TV). The Republican Party selected Rokita and Brooks during caucuses to fill the vacancies that were created last month. Rokita and Brooks were chosen for the 4th and 5th congressional districts respectively and defeated candidates they had already beaten in this year's primaries. Brooks and Rokita had said they would seek to resume their reelection campaigns after the GOP state committee selected Lt. Gov. Eric Holcomb to replace Pence as the gubernatorial nominee against Democratic candidate John Gregg. Rokita's Democratic challenger this November is John Dale of West Point, a teacher at Western Boone High School and small farm owner. Rokita, who reported \$1.4 million in campaign money at the end of June, defeated Dale in 2014 with about 67% of the vote. "It is an honor to represent the 5th District in Congress, and I'm very grateful for the opportunity to continue to serve my district, state and nation.," Brooks said after she was renominated and will face Democrat Angela Demaree. "Now, we must turn our focus to November and to making sure that Republican principles and leadership continue in both our state's and nation's capital." Brooks had about \$1.3 million in campaign cash at the end of

June, compared to about \$60,000 for Demaree.

#### **Drake wins 8th CD recount**

The 8th CD Democratic recount ended without a formal resolution as David Orentlicher conceded to Ron Drake Friday afternoon. A 19-county recount concluded this week showing Orentlicher failing to come close to erasing Drake's 68-vote lead on the May 3 primary. "Earlier this afternoon, I called Ron Drake and congratulated him on winning the Democratic Party's nomination for the 8th District congressional race. I told him that I have decided to suspend the recount process," Orentlicher said. "Now that we have had a chance to consider the hard work of the State Board of Accounts and to review the notes of our terrific volunteer observers, it is clear that the final numbers will confirm a victory for Mr. Drake. I am happy to endorse Ron Drake for Congress and his campaign to beat Rep. Bucshon this November. I have every confidence that he will give it his all, and it is time for all Hoosier Democrats to support him in his efforts." Drake told the Evansville Courier & Press, "I wish him well. I

know how badly he wanted this." Drake now faces Republican U.S. Rep. Larry Bucshon on Nov. 8. "I don't think the party in power was in any hurry to get this recount done," said Daviess County Democrat Party Chairman Dave Crooks (Washington Times-Herald). "I think if there had been a recount between Larry Bucshon and Richard Moss there would have been a lot more urgency to get it done. It probably would have been completed before the Fourth of July."



2nd CD





HPI Status: Leans Walorski (R)

8th CD







HPI Status: Likely Bucshon (R)

9th CD







HPI Status: Leans Hollingsworth (R)

### Yoder, Hollingsworth to debate Sept. 19

A debate has been scheduled between the two major-party candidates vying for Indiana's 9th District seat in Congress (Bloomington Herald-Times). Democrat Shelli Yoder and Republican Trey Hollingsworth will debate on Sept. 19 in Greenwood. The news of the debate comes less than a week after Yoder called for 10 debates across the 9th District leading up to the general election. So far, the debate does not include Libertarian candidate Russell Brooksbank. ❖



# Young had it won until . . .

#### By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – Todd Young had it won. Until . . . Young, a Republican congressman from Bloomington, trounced another GOP congressman, Marlin Stutzman, the Tea Party favorite, in the May primary, capturing the party's nomination for the open U.S. Senate seat at stake in Indiana. Baron Hill, the Democratic nominee, with little



name recognition, little funding and little chance, was written off by Democratic fundraisers and political analysts in Indiana and around the nation.

Young had that seat won. Until . . .

Until Hill dropped out in July, replaced by Evan Bayh.

Young now faces a candidate with high name recognition from Bayh's two terms as governor and two terms in the

Senate, mostly favorable recognition. Young's fundraising advantage is gone. Bayh has \$9.3 million in funds from past campaigning. Analysts now see the race as a "tossup," maybe even with advantage to Bayh.

Young said in an interview in South Bend that he's "excited actually," not disappointed in the sudden change, and still confident of winning. "We're really excited about not just winning this seat but winning this top-tier battle-ground race . . . that could very well dictate control of the entire U.S. Senate and composition of the United States Supreme Court for the next couple of generations," Young said.

Indeed, if Bayh wins what once was a "sure bet" Republican seat, it could be decisive in Democrats winning control of the Senate.

Money now pours in for TV ads. Young had \$1.23 million in cash on hand before – fine in preparing for a race with Hill – but not enough to match Bayh's funding. Young said he already has support from \$3 million in spending by groups taking on Bayh. And Bayh cites the \$1 million spending against him by the Koch brothers in appeals for more Democratic contributions. Both sides will spend many millions that wouldn't have been there to gladden the hearts of TV station owners in a Young vs. Hill race.

Young is cautious in talking about Donald Trump. Asked if he endorses Trump, he replies: "I intend to support the Republican nominee." That nominee, who won big in the Indiana presidential primary, is of course Trump.

He doesn't specifically criticize Trump by name for such things as the ban on Muslims coming to the

country or Trump's wavering on NATO mutual defense provisions. "Feel free to compare and contrast," he adds in reference to his stands and Trump's. He then says he doesn't support a Muslim ban and that, "as a former Marine intelligence officer," he supports the NATO defense commitments.

Bayh, after becoming the nominee, immediately attacked Young on Social Security. Young responded by attacking Bayh on Obamacare. Those are issues voters will hear about for the rest of the campaign. Bayh criticized Young for calling Social Security "a Ponzi scheme" and suggested Young would scuttle the retirement system.

"I think I was in the course of illustrating a point," Young says of a Ponzi reference. No matter the point, and he says it was to stress that present funding is not sustainable, most Social Security recipients don't look upon it as a Ponzi scheme, which is something illegal that should be stopped.

Young stresses that he doesn't want Social Security stopped but rather made solvent for future generations through changes necessary for sustainability. He says the deplorable scheme is federal spending elsewhere, rather than adequately funding commitments for Social Security and Medicare.

The Republican nominee criticizes Bayh for voting in the Senate for the Affordable Care Act, Obamacare. "Obamacare would never have become law if Even Bayh hadn't cast the deciding vote," Young says. He contends that the health care program has been anything but affordable and that it is unpopular in Indiana.

Young contends that the Obamacare vote was the reason Bayh decided not to run for reelection in 2010. "He was afraid of losing," says Young. "And I think he should be afraid of losing now."

Colwell has covered politics over five decades for the South Bend Tribune.





### Clinton brings 50 state strategy to Indiana

### By MAUREEN HAYDEN CNHI Statehouse Bureau

INDIANAPOLIS – Keith Potts put aside wedding planning on a recent Saturday to spend a rainy morning canvassing for votes in Indianapolis. Wearing a Hillary Clinton T-shirt and ball cap, Potts, who lives in the city, said he is hopeful of changing minds even in a traditionally red state whose governor is running as vice president on the

Republican ticket.



"There's a real energy in Indiana this year," he said. "I think Indiana might be a surprise to a lot of people."

Indiana is no swing state. Yet, a small paid campaign staff and some trained volunteers, including Potts, have been organizing phone banks and voter drives as part of the Democrats' sweeping strategy to campaign at the local level in all 50 states.

Indiana's is a small force compared to the heavy presence that Clinton's presidential campaign is building in pivotal states such as Ohio and Florida. Nor is Indiana in the same league as some other Republican-leaning states, such as Georgia, Arizona and Texas, where polls show Clinton within striking distance of Republican Donald Trump and where her campaign is devoting more attention.

But state Democratic Party Chairman John Zody said Clinton's investment in Indiana is important. It builds on resources being spent by Democrats in competitive races for governor and U.S. Senate, putting the party in a better position to take advantage of the electoral uncertainty created by Trump. "This is a completely different kind of election year than we've ever seen," he said.

At least in Indiana, Clinton's ground campaign is far ahead of her rival's. Trump has yet to open a field office here, though his state spokesman, Tony Samuel, said one should be set up before the end of the month.

**Samuel was also** dismissive of concerns that Trump's paid campaign staff is reportedly just a small fraction of Clinton's 900 field personnel. "It's always been a lean and mean campaign," he said.

Still, Clinton is building momentum in polls, as well. Nationally, the two were virtually tied a month ago. But, after a series of controversial statements from Trump, including comments about a Muslim-American Gold Star family, Clinton's standing started to improve. In Indiana, Howey Politics Indiana reported that a privately commissioned poll by state Democrats in early August showed the two neck and neck at 44% each. A Wednesday Monmouth Poll had Trump leading Clinton 47-36% with Gary Johnson

at 10%.

Joe Losco, director of Ball State University's Bowen Center for Public Affairs, cautioned against reading too much into a partisan poll. But he said the results are plausible, as independents and Republicans wary of Trump's rhetoric move to Clinton. "We're seeing polling throughout U.S. starting to fall in line for Clinton, partly because Trump is his own worst enemy," he said.

**Even with momentum,** the Clinton campaign isn't making big promises in a reliably Republican state. Since 1940, Indiana has only voted for a Democrat for president twice, in Lyndon Johnson's 1964 landslide and in 2008 when it supported Barack Obama. In 2012, the state turned red again and supported Obama's opponent, Republican Mitt Romney. That history is why national Democrats often ignore the state; in 2004, presidential candidate John Kerry's campaign ignored Indiana and put its Hoosier volunteers on buses to knock on doors in the neighboring toss-up state of Ohio.

But Clinton announced plans to commit paid staff and other resources to every state in June. By late July, she'd opened her first field office in Indiana, a state that had gone for Vermont Sen. Bernie Sanders in the Democrats' May primary.

Clinton's 50-state approach isn't new. Obama deployed it in 2008, following a strategy advocated by former Democratic National Committee chairman Howard Dean. And her campaign is cautious about saying what the future holds – if it will open more field offices, if Clinton will return to Indiana to campaign, or if the campaign will move people to neighboring states with more electoral votes, Ohio, Illinois and Michigan – as Election Day draws near.

**Still, Clinton's national** campaign says part of its strategy is also to drum up support for Democrats running for statewide and local offices, as well. "Hillary Clinton is committed to organizing in all 50 states," said Marlon Marshall, the Hillary for America director of state campaigns. "That doesn't mean every one of them will turn blue overnight. But organizing in every state both helps Democrats up and down the ballot and builds a strong infrastructure for future cycles."

While canvassing on the recent Saturday, Potts and other Clinton supporters, for example, were asked to encourage voters to also support incumbent Congressman Andre Carson and state Senate candidate Pam Hickman. As they knocked on doors for Clinton, they wore "Carson for Congress" T-shirts and left behind door hangers with information on Hickman.

"We want to spread the message," said Potts, as he handed umbrellas to volunteers. "We're stronger together." •

Maureen Hayden covers the Indiana Statehouse for CNHI's newspapers and websites. Reach her at mhayden@cnhi.com or on Twitter @Maureen-Hayden



# Pence, Zoeller ignore rule of law in suit

#### By JOSHUA CLAYBOURN

EVANSVILLE – This fall an Indiana trial judge will hear complaints brought by several conservative groups – the Indiana Family Institute, Indiana Family Action, and American Family Association – challenging the state's "fix" to its Religious Freedom Restoration Act (RFRA).

The suit also challenges the cities of Indianapolis, Carmel, Bloomington, and Columbus for nondiscrimina-



tion ordinances that include LGBT protections. Yet Gov. Mike Pence and Indiana Attorney General Greg Zoeller are noticeably absent from the lawsuit, calling into question their commitment to the rule of law when it results in undesired outcomes.

The conservative plaintiffs in the case are represented by Jim Bopp, a well-known Terre Haute-based Republican lawyer

who successfully argued the Citizens United case before the U.S. Supreme Court, and who most recently lost in his effort representing Marlin Stutzman's challenge to Todd Young's placement on the ballot in the Republican primary for U.S. Senate.

Although state RFRA laws are designed to protect religious liberties, the so-called "fix" in Indiana neuters the original law by clearly stating it does not authorize discrimination nor provide a defense to someone who discriminates.

The plaintiffs argue the state's RFRA fix is unconstitutional because its exemptions and exceptions are too vague and do not adequately protect their religious liberties. Bopp also argues the RFRA law allowed cities to pass ordinances which restrict his clients' religious liberties. He cited marriage enrichment programs geared to heterosexual couples and alleged that some of his clients' employees, volunteers, and speakers could run afoul of the ordinances for counseling only heterosexual couples.

**The Indiana attorney** general has a duty defend any lawsuit, like this one, which challenges the constitutionality of state law. Greg Zoeller has certainly been one of the leading proponents nationally of an attorney general's duty to defend.

When U.S. Attorney General Holder suggested some states could choose not to defend statutes banning gay marriage, Greg Zoeller argued in the Indiana Law Journal that an attorney general owes the state and its citizens, as sovereign, a duty to defend its statutes, "even statutes that he or she personally opposes or finds distasteful," and that "[t]o exercise discretion more broadly,

and selectively to pick and choose which statutes to defend, only erodes the rule of law."

Although Jim Bopp's lawsuit clearly challenges the constitutionality of an Indiana state law, neither Indiana Attorney General Greg Zoeller nor the State of Indiana has been made a party to the lawsuit, and neither has elected to intervene.

Why? Has Attorney Greg Zoeller abandoned his duty to the rule of law? Has he changed his position on the issue now that it favors a different result? Where does Gov. Mike Pence, now the Republican vice presidential candidate, stand on the matter?

In the past Zoeller and Pence have both fought to defend the state's ban on same-sex marriages. Pence was an ally of groups lobbying for RFRA prior to its "fix," and when he signed it into law he posed for pictures with top leaders of two plaintiffs in the case, Curt Smith, Indiana Family Institute president, and Micah Clark, American Family Association of Indiana executive director.

Few doubt the sympathies of Gov. Pence and Attorney General Zoeller fall with the plaintiffs in this case. But by failing to defend and support a valid law passed by the legislature, Pence and Zoeller undermine their respect for the rule of law and the idea of popular government.

In Zoeller's own words, "a selective, subjective nondefense represents abdication of official duty. It amounts to a license to substitute an individual's political will for legal responsibility. State attorneys general are elected for an important purpose: To represent a state's popular sovereignty according to law. Accordingly, the value of independently elected attorneys general lies not in some imagined leeway to simply override the political decisions of elected representatives (and other elected officials), but in the strength to advocate according to law rather than politics that comes from political independence."

By arguing on behalf of the state, Zoeller and Pence will allow courts to assume their proper role of deciding the constitutionality of state statutes. It is critical for the RFRA statute to get a proper adversarial proceeding without the litigants having to address questions of standing.

**As Zoeller has also** argued previously in his article titled, "Duty to Defend," the state must also defend its state laws in order to "maintain the proper balance of powers by ensuring that the attorney general does not usurp a judicial function (by declaring a statute unconstitutional) or an executive function (by infringing on another executive officer's ability to execute statutes). Finally, and most importantly, it will require the attorney general to fulfill his proper role as the state's chief legal officer committed to upholding the rule of law."

Gov. Pence has rightfully assailed President Obama for expanding executive branch powers by refusing to enforce laws he does not like, effectively repealing them. Yet here, when its suits Gov. Pence's preferred outcome, he seemingly abandons this principle.



Gov. Pence and Attorney General Greg Zoeller must put their principles into practice and uphold the rule of law by defending Indiana's RFRA statute, even if they may personally disagree with its outcome. .

#### Claybourn is an Evansville attorney.



# Indiana's 'Distressed Dozen' counties

#### **By MORTON MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS – Basketball may be king in Indiana, but the king is losing his castles. They demolished the Wigwam in Anderson last week. Soon the 1928 Fieldhouse in Muncie could meet the wrecker's ball.

Sentimentality may extend the life of this structure, but cannot erase certain facts: Anderson and Muncie



are part of a 12-county neglected region. This Distressed Dozen, stretching from Logansport through Peru and Wabash, to Richmond and Connersville, encompass massive tumors of economic and social decay, despite the remedial efforts of local leaders.

When the state recently awarded millions of dollars to three regions, this area was totally neglected. Ten of the 21 Indiana counties that lost

population in the past 20 years are part of the Distressed Dozen. In total they have seen their population drop by 4% (26,700) while the balance of the state enjoyed a 16% increase (830,000).

At the heart of this population decline was the loss of 47,100 jobs in the region. This was equivalent to losing one of every eight jobs in these 12 counties. Each of the Distressed Dozen lost jobs over the past two decades. Fayette County saw more than one-third of its jobs disappear. Together Delaware and Madison counties lost nearly 11,000 jobs, while the rest of the state gained

489,000 jobs.

A declining jobs market retards earnings growth. After adjustment for inflation, Indiana saw average earnings per job increase by 21% from 1994 to 2014. In the Distressed Dozen counties, the growth was a meager 4%. Where the average Hoosier job was worth \$8,600 more in buying power in 2014 than 20 years earlier, the gain in the distressed counties was a paltry \$1,600 or four cents per hour.

You would think the State of Indiana would seek to ease the burdens of industrial evolution. However, our legislative and economic development programs ignore or punish the areas most damaged by sweeping national and international trends. Just look at the bypass around Kokomo in the heart of the Distressed Dozen. Almost everyone from South Bend and Elkhart joins the residents of the Indianapolis area in extolling the new bypass around the east side of Kokomo. Why not, however, build a modern highway, as a part of the on-going revitalization of downtown Kokomo? Have we not learned that the initial lower costs of bypass construction result in higher costs when we try to resurrect downtown areas?

I-69 bypasses downtown Fort Wayne, Marion, Muncie and Anderson; I-70 skips around Richmond and Terre Haute; I-65, I-74 and I-94, as well as the new I-69, were built to avoid the cities they are supposed to serve. This follows the original plan for the Indiana Toll Road: Keep "foreign" trucks out of our cities and towns.

Only Indianapolis has interstates going through the center of the city. The result: Only Indianapolis has a vibrant downtown. Now, Kokomo has a new bypass, as if it needed surgery from Dr. Strangelove. •

Mr. Marcus is an economist, writer, and speaker who may be reached at mortonimarcus@yahoo.

1	Source: U.S	. Bureau of E	conomic Ana	lysis and the	author's con	nputations.											
2		Population (number of persons)			Change '94-'14			Total number of full- & part-time jobs		Change '94-'14			Real Earnings per job in 2014 dollars		Change '94-'14		
3	GeoFips	GeoName	1994	2014	Number	Percent	Rank	1994	2014	Number	Percent	Rank	1994	2014	Number	Percent	Rank
1	18000	Indiana	5,793,526	6,596,855	803,329	13.9%		3,287,330	3,729,352	442,022	13.4%		41,431	50,008	8,577	20.7%	
5	Balance of	state	5,083,553	5,913,598	830,045	16.3%		2,917,251	3,406,361	489,110	16.8%		41,364	50,618	9,254	22.4%	
7	Distressed	dozen	709,973	683,257	(26,716)	-3.8%		370,079	322,991	(47,088)	-12.7%		41,954	43,576	1,622	3.9%	
3	18009	Blackford	13,976	12,401	(1,575)	-11.3%	92	5,707	4,929	(778)	-13.6%	86	33,046	36,517	3,471	10.5%	79
)	18017	Cass	39,261	38,438	(823)	-2.1%	74	19,089	18,731	(358)	-1.9%	64	35,314	41,772	6,458	18.3%	62
0	18035	Delaware	120,514	117,074	(3,440)	-2.9%	78	67,867	58,603	(9,264)	-13.7%	87	39,879	43,389	3,509	8.8%	80
1	18041	Fayette	26,152	23,468	(2,684)	-10.3%	91	14,387	9,257	(5,130)	-35.7%	92	45,554	37,296	(8,258)	-18.1%	92
2	18053	Grant	74,360	68,569	(5,791)	-7.8%	88	38,739	35,589	(3,150)	-8.1%	76	42,980	44,510	1,530	3.6%	84
3	18065	Henry	48,940	48,995	55	0.1%	71	19,308	17,901	(1,407)	-7.3%	73	37,084	37,212	128	0.3%	87
1	18067	Howard	83,584	82,982	(602)	-0.7%	72	53,788	48,843	(4,945)	-9.2%	78	55,899	50,495	(5,404)	-9.7%	91
5	18095	Madison	133,554	130,069	(3,485)	-2.6%	77	60,950	50,345	(10,605)	-17.4%	90	45,024	41,360	(3,664)	-8.1%	90
6	18103	Miami	35,142	35,954	812	2.3%	60	14,952	13,173	(1,779)	-11.9%	84	34,026	40,790	6,764	19.9%	57
7	18135	Randolph	27,132	25,384	(1,748)	-6.4%	84	11,459	10,459	(1,000)	-8.7%	77	34,098	49,873	15,775	46.3%	8
3	18169	Wabash	34,970	32,252	(2,718)	-7.8%	87	20,122	17,702	(2,420)	-12.0%	85	33,721	42,948	9,226	27.4%	39
9	18177	Wayne	72,388	67,671	(4,717)	-6.5%	85	43,711	37,459	(6,252)	-14.3%	88	36,416	42,886	6,470	17.8%	63



### Holcomb will evade Democrat attacks

#### By CRAIG DUNN

KOKOMO – One month ago I traveled up U.S. Highway 35 from Kokomo to northern Indiana for a company golf outing. Highway 35 leads through a political mixture of both Democratic and Republican bastions as you snake your way to LaPorte. I found this trip noteworthy for the political yard signs that were sprinkled along the way. "Pence Must Go" and "Fire Pence" signs dotted the roadway in several locations.

I had seen the same signs in yards along Capitol



Avenue in Indianapolis, ever since the heated brouhaha over the Religious Freedoms Restoration Act exploded in the public mindset. Mind you, these aren't hand-painted signs by individuals expressing their anger. These signs are professionally done and distributed as part of a longterm strategy to win the 2016 Indiana governor's race by vilifying Mike Pence. Oops!

The problem with putting all of your chips on one num-

ber of the roulette wheel is that your number better come up or you are busted. With Gov. Pence accepting the vice presidential nomination on the Trump ticket, removing him from the Indiana ballot, the obsessive focus of John Gregg and the Democratic Party on a "Pence Must Go" strategy has left them flat busted.

Now, the intellectually bankrupt Indiana Democratic Party, instead of trying to wage a war of ideas with the Republican Party, has come up with the specious argument that since Mike Pence appointed Eric Holcomb as his lieutenant governor, Holcomb has become the Pence surrogate. I'll bet the creative geniuses in the Democratic Party are already hard at work cranking out "Holcomb Must Go" signs.

Sorry troops, it just isn't going to work.

I've found it interesting that John Gregg has been able to fool the ultra-liberal wing of his party into forgetting his past positions on social issues held near and dear by his current minions. Make no mistake about it. In 2012 and before, John Gregg was against gay marriage. In fact, he supported an Indiana Constitutional Amendment to define that marriage was between one man and one woman. John Gregg has always tried to have his cake and eat it too, by claiming to be pro-life and yet a strong supporter of Planned Parenthood and their abortion agenda. Gregg has also tried to convince the adoring leftist wing of his party that he is a strong believer in the global warming claptrap, while at the same time he's just a southern Indi-

ana coal miner at heart. This dog just isn't going to hunt!

If I weren't just another heartless Republican, I just might feel sorry for John Gregg and the Democrats. Indiana's economy is hitting on all six cylinders and a potential strategy of talking down the Hoosier employment, wage and business environment is simply a non-starter.

Let me refresh your memory: CNB, Indiana first in United States for cost of doing business; Forbes, Indiana second in United States for regulatory environment; Tax Foundation, Indiana eighth in United States for overall business climate; Chief Executive, Indiana in Top Five for business; AAA bond rating; record workforce participation; state budget surplus, \$2 billion state reserve.

One of the things that I was most struck by at the Republican National Convention was the reputation of Indiana held by delegates from other states. They referred to Indiana as a "wonder" and a "miracle." Every delegate I spoke with wanted to know how we did it in Indiana and I gave the same response, "Elect a Republican governor and give them a Republican legislative team and you will get things done."

The uncreative Democrat strategists appear to be trying to use some contrived political algebra to get at the new reality in the governor's race. If "A" equals "C" and "B" equals "C", then "A" and "B" must be equal. That approach might work with integers, but it fails when applied to governor candidates. Just because you say Mike Pence and Eric Holcomb are the same doesn't make it so.

Eric Holcomb presents Indiana Democrats with some nasty challenges. First, Holcomb was the legislative point man for the successful administration of former Gov. Mitch Daniels. Daniels left office with record high approval ratings and Holcomb deserves some of the credit for helping to usher in needed changes in education, government efficiency, taxation and infrastructure. Second, Holcomb served as chief of staff for Sen. Dan Coats. In that capacity, Holcomb traveled to every nook and cranny in the Hoosier State. He has an excellent grasp of the issues most important to Hoosiers and has promised to focus his efforts as governor on continuing the significant progress made in education, jobs and economic development.

Indiana citizens will be able to trust that the emphasis of a Holcomb Administration will be on core issues that unite us as a people. Finally, Eric Holcomb is an immensely likable candidate. Sit four Democrats down with Holcomb at a small town diner and you'll end up with four Democrats voting for him. He is honest, genuine and exudes all of the characteristics that we like to see in our Hoosier elected officials.

It is by no accident that the Indiana Republican Party has rightfully become known as the party of ideas. Bold creative ideas and leadership has characterized Indiana Republicans for the past 12 years. When contrasted with the past wasteful, tax-and-spend, deficit-bloated and inefficient Democrat administrations and legislature, Indiana citizens will be very reluctant to return to the failed policies and management of the past. With a fiscally



healthy state government, a booming economy and the momentum of nationally recognized successes, Eric Holcomb will be a formidable governor candidate and disrupt the trite Democratic strategy of "Pence Must Go."

**I can close my eyes** and envision a Citizen Kane-like moment when John Gregg awakens from his nightmarish sleep, soaked in sweat and utters repeatedly, "Holcomb, Holcomb!" Eric Holcomb is the real deal and will keep Republican-led progress in the Indiana Statehouse. \*

Dunn is chairman of the Howard County Republican Party.



# Importers benefit from free trade

#### By MICHAEL HICKS

MUNCIE – Most Americans think incorrectly about the benefits of free trade. The general view is that it is good to export more than you import, and that the advantage is to the seller. This is how many in the "buy local" movement view the world, along with those folks still clinging to the "economic base theory" of local economic development. It is also precisely how George III viewed the world, but also he had the excuse of insanity.

Trade is the selling of goods made in one place to people in another place. It should be obvious that a favorable balance of trade can hardly have anything to do



with growth. After all, the world's standard of living has grown some twenty fold since 1700, and there is scant evidence we run a balance of trade with Venus.

Trade can enable growth, but only through improving access to technology. To economists, technology isn't necessarily computers and robotics, rather it is how we organize the production of goods and services and how we organize their movement

to market. A huge element of this is moving production to the most efficient places. That means moving Happy Meal toys to technically unsophisticated China and orthopedic devices to modern Indiana.

A savvy reader will ask what happens when China modernizes and can produce knee joints? The answer is still that this is good. We want Chinese workers to get better and more affluent. There is an obvious moral argument here, but the pure economics of this result in an increase in the world's productive capacity. Unquestionably, workers who cannot learn new skills may find the disruption difficult. With or without foreign trade, we must all be prepared to adapt to new technologies.

That leads us directly to the fundamentals of trade, and why it is the importer, not exporter who benefits. It is people, not governments who buy and sell goods.

If Americans buy more goods from China than China buys from Americans, as is currently the case, that means we run a trade deficit. This sounds horrible, unless of course you realize that we are effectively trading little green pieces of paper for actual things. We get more things from them, than they get from us, and that begs the question, how can this be?

**The reason we can** continue this deal is that the trade deficit is identically equal to something called the current account balance. This current account balance is the difference between how much American households save, and how much they invest. And by investment, economists mean the purchase of real items like roads and bridges and new plant and equipment.

Last month's trade deficit with China was about \$29 billion. To finance this, Chinese households had to invest about \$29 billion in the United States. Much of this was investment in government spending, but much was also in our stock market, and in new plant and equipment.

Without foreign trade, we would experience a significant decline in household consumption and business and government investment. That would make all of us much worse off. •

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### Clinton rises to 348 Electoral College votes

### By LARRY SABATO, KYLE KONDIK and GEOFFREY SKELLEY

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va. – New Hampshire may just have four electoral votes, but it's important. If you doubt it, just ask any Granite State citizens, and they'll tell you about their first-in-the-nation primary. Even that quartet of electoral votes can matter; in 2000, if Al Gore had just won them (and without Ralph Nader on the ballot, he probably would have), Gore would have been president even without Florida. He didn't and he wasn't.

Since 2000, we've watched New Hampshire become more reliable for the Democrats in presidential years.

Neighbor John Kerry of Massachusetts won 50.2% in 2004, and Barack Obama easily carried the Granite State in 2008 (54.1%) and 2012 (52.0%). And now, Hillary Clinton is doing so well that her polling lead in the state is about seven-to-eight points, depending on the average, and now we're ready to shift New Hampshire from Leans Democratic to Likely Democratic.

We waited a while, despite favorable polls for Clinton, because it once seemed reasonable to imagine Trump making a play for the land of Live Free or Die. The state is very white (as of 2014, it had the fourth-smallest nonwhite population share), and the Crystal Ball team hypothesized in 2015 that lily-white Obama states such as Iowa and New Hampshire could be particularly vulnerable for Democrats in 2016. The Granite State also has a sizable number of independent voters, a group Trump appeared to be attracting.

In fact, looking back to the 33 states with exit poll data in 2012, New Hampshire had the second-largest share of self-identified independents (43% of voters).

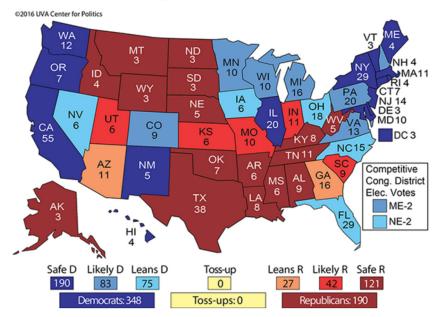
However, as it turns out, one of Trump's strengths -- his disproportionate support among blue-collar, non-college-graduate white voters -- is almost certainly a liability in the Granite State. Out of the 50 states, New Hampshire has the fourth-largest percentage of non-Hispanic whites with at least a bachelor's degree in the country, with 32% of the state's age 25-or-older population meeting those criteria. So while Trump can arguably make a play in Rust Belt states such as Ohio (only 22% whites with at least a bachelor's degree) and Pennsylvania (just 24%), as well as Iowa (24%), New Hampshire's mostly white voter base holds less potential for Trump. Our friends at the Cook Political Report have estimated that about half of the New Hampshire electorate will be made up of college-educated whites, well above the 37%

projected national rate.

New Hampshire's new status is no small change, since we are putting Clinton over the 270-mark in the Electoral College (273 electoral votes, to be precise) with states we have classified as Likely Democratic or Safe Democratic. Clinton had previously been at 269 in those categories. To us, this means that Trump has to find a way not just to sweep all Republican states and the remaining states classified Leans Democratic (see our map, below) but to dislodge at least one Likely or Safe Democratic state. Anything can happen over the next dozen weeks, but we wouldn't recommend betting your children's college funds on a Trump administration.

**By the way, we're lowering** Kansas and South Carolina from Safe Republican to Likely Republican after recent closer-than-expected surveys surfaced. In the former, the latest statewide poll from SurveyUSA had

Map 1: Crystal Ball Electoral College ratings



Trump ahead by just five points, 44%-39%, and notably it showed Clinton ahead 45%-35% in the Kansas City region. Echoing that finding, an internal survey for Rep. Kevin Yoder (R, KS-3) showed Clinton up 44%-38% over Trump in a district that is mostly in the Kansas City area.

In addition, KS-3 was a 54%-44% Mitt Romney district in 2012, further confirming our views of NE-2, which voted for Romney by 53%-46%. Meanwhile, a Public Policy Polling survey found Trump up only 41%-39% in South Carolina, and it is a state with a high Democratic floor (but a low ceiling) because of a large black population and the Palmetto State's racially polarized voting. We certainly don't expect either Kansas or South Carolina to vote Democratic. Still, we have noticed that many deep red states may be preparing to produce lower-than-usual pluralities for Trump. It won't matter in the Electoral College, of course, but it will be reflected in the national popular vote total. ❖



#### Dave Bangert, Lafayette Journal & Courier:

Donald Trump continued to trot out one of his latest conspiracy theories, this one of infinitely greater consequences. Trump has been out banging the drum among followers that the only way he'll lose is if he's the victim of massive cheating. On Aug. 1, Trump told a rally in Columbus, Ohio: "Nov. 8, we'd better be careful, because that election is going to be rigged. ... People are going to walk in and they're going to vote 10 times, maybe, who knows?" On the stump in Pennsylvania later that week, Trump called on supporters to keep an eye on "certain" areas" (read: inner-city Philadelphia): "I hope you people can sort of not just vote on (Nov.) 8th, go around and look and watch other polling places, and make sure that it's 100 percent fine." But as Aaron Blake of the Washington Post put it: "The ground in which Trump planted this particular seed is indeed fertile." Blake pointed to a question asked of North Carolina voters a week ago by Public Policy Polling, a Raleigh, **COLUMNISTS** North Carolina, firm: "If Hillary Clinton is elected president, do you think it will be because more INDIÂNA people voted for her, or because the election results are rigged for her?" The results: Of those who said they supported Trump, 69 percent agreed that a rigged election would be the deciding factor in a Clinton victory. (Of all those asked, 36 percent predicted a rigged election. So, there's that.) "I don't consider it a foregone conclusion, but corruption is always a looming possibility," said Chuck Hockema, Tippecanoe County Republican Party chairman. "We are dealing with human beings. Of course, I don't have any personal knowledge of the presence or extent of corruption." Heather Maddox, Tippecanoe County Democratic Party chairwoman, said "While there, the poll watchers would certainly keep an eye out for anyone violating election law," Maddox said. "But we haven't noticed that to

**Bob Zaltsberg**, Bloomington Herald-Times:

be a problem." .\*

USA Today, the Washington Post, the New York Times, MS-NBC and Politico have something in common. All received Donald Trump "Media Bias of the Day" designation in the past two weeks. His campaign sends them out by email. Here's the first one from Aug. 3: "Another day, another edition of The New York Times with two negative Trump stories and zero negative Clinton stories on the front page. "No front page mentions of the \$400M worth of payments to Iran, no front page mentions of Clinton's continuing national security email scandal and no front page mentions of the Clinton Foundation shadiness that we've been learning more about this week. "With many in the media continuing to do everything in their power to publish anti-Trump articles on their front pages while suppressing anti-Clinton stories, the Trump campaign is going to begin calling out biased and unfair coverage. ..." On Aug. 5, it was the Washington Post's turn, specifically the Post's website. "... today's online edition of the Post doesn't even try to

hide the fact that they are essentially a propaganda arm for Hillary Clinton and her campaign. The Washington Post homepage is stacked with anti-Trump news stories along the left-hand side and then the Opinion section starts off with four consecutive attacks on Mr. Trump. ... it's clear that a conscious decision has been made by the owners and editors of the Washington Post to go all-in for Hillary." The charge that the Post's owners and editors are "all-in" for Hillary is not based on anything other than what he sees as negative coverage. .\*

**Matthew Tully, IndyStar:** Sometimes, it's all about the shadow hanging over you. Who you are compared to means a lot in life, and certainly in politics. And for Mike Pence, having a new shadow to walk in has been

a good thing. So much so that some, such as the Wall Street Journal editorial page, are suggesting a man who was barely hanging on as governor a month or so ago should be the leader of the free world. Until recently, the governor had lived for years in the dominating shadow of his more focused and competent predecessor, Mitch Dan-

iels. By just about any measure, Pence had not lived up to the job done by the man he replaced. Not on questions of vision, policy or intellectual heft, and definitely not when it came to where he spent valuable political capital. Pence struggled as governor, but one of his biggest political headaches was that shadow hanging over him. It further clouded a mistake-prone tenure at the Statehouse. But my, how things can change. Suddenly, Pence is seen as America's most rational Republican. The voice of common sense. The truth, though, is that Pence hasn't changed. All that's changed is that he now stands in a different shadow. Gone is that of Mitch Daniels, and in its place is Donald Trump's. His is a darker shadow. A scary, destructive and menacing one. And it makes Pence look better and better. \*

**E.J. Dionne, Washington Post:** If you thought the old Donald Trump campaign was wild and crazy, just wait for the new Trump campaign now that Breitbart's Steve Bannon has taken over as chief executive. The new leadership — with Bannon and pollster Kellyanne Conway displacing Paul Manafort of the Ukrainian Connection at the top of the heap — is likely to steer Trump even more in the direction of the European far right. It also tells you something that Bannon sees Sarah Palin, about whom he made a laudatory documentary, as a model for antiestablishment politics. Judging from Bannon's history, Trump's campaign will become even harsher in its attacks on Hillary Clinton and work hard to insinuate anti-Clinton stories into the mainstream media. Bloomberg Businessweek's Joshua Green quoted Bannon proudly declaring in mid-2015: "We've got the 15 best investigative reporters at the 15 best newspapers in the country all chasing after Hillary Clinton." \*



# Fed official testifies on immigration

INDIANAPOLIS — A former federal immigration official testified Wednesday before an Indiana Senate panel on immigration (Smith, IPB). Michael Cutler worked for the Immigration and Naturalization Service for 30

**TICKER TAPE** 

years before leaving the agency two decades ago. He's now affiliated with a private think-tank that advocates for limiting all immigration - including legal immigration.

Testifying before the study committee, Cutler warned of what he sees as the dangers posed by illegal immigration. "We are endangering the entire world because of our immigration policies, because of the way we've politicized the solemn process whereby we confer the highest honor we can upon a foreign national: United States citizenship. We've certainly cheapened what it is to be a citizen," said Cutler. Goshen College's Richard Aguirre takes a different view. He says undocumented students should be encouraged to go to Indiana colleges and universities. "I believe that if they gain legal status, undocumented students will settle permanently in the state and make important contributions to Indiana and its economy," Aguirre said. The study committee will have one more meeting before deciding whether to make a recommendation to the full General Assembly.

## Evansville back tracks on PD cams

EVANSVILLE — A day after announcing increased fees for the public to obtain and view body camera footage, Evansville police are backtracking on at least one of the charges (Hall, Evansville Courier & Press). Assistant Police Chief Chris Pugh told the Courier & Press Wednesday night that the EPD will not charge an hourly rate of \$37.50 for members of the public to view body camera footage. The

change comes one day after police announced a new online request form that detailed the costs. Pugh said the decision was made after the department spoke with its attorneys.

## Floyd Co. settles with David Camm

NEW ALBANY — Floyd County and David Camm have reached a settlement (Morris, News & Tribune). A settlement conference was held Friday and the two sides agreed on an amount. Camm will receive \$450,000 from a lawsuit

filed against the county and several individuals in October of 2014 alleging wrongdoing against him after he was charged and convicted twice for killing his wife and two small children at their Georgetown home in 2000. Camm was convicted in Floyd County in 2002, appealed the conviction only to be convicted again in 2006, a verdict that was later overturned. He was acquitted in 2013 after a third and final trial. Several plaintiffs were listed in the lawsuit, and Friday's agreement "settles everything with Floyd County in the case," according to Floyd County Attorney Rick Fox. That includes the county, and investigators Jacqueline Vaught, Anthony Toran, Mark Henderson, Emily Fessel Miller and Barry Wayne Kessinger. Camm's suit against the state of Indiana, which includes former Floyd County Prosecutor Stan Faith and current prosecutor Keith Henderson, along with several state police investigators and Englert Forensic Consultants LLC, is still pending. The "global amount" of the lawsuit was for \$30 million. Of that, Floyd County settled for \$450,000.

# Woerpel wins city council seat

HAMMOND — In all the years Dave Woerpel has been involved in politics, he's spent it asking people to vote for others (Quinn, Post-Tribune). Asking people to vote for him to take over the 5th District Hammond

City Council spot vacated by Michael Opinker last month was a bit surreal for him, he said. Woerpel on Tuesday night won the spot unanimously, 11-0, during a caucus held at the Jean Shepard Community Center. Woerpel said he has no immediate plan to "reinvent the wheel" when it comes to his position. Rather, he wants to focus on doing "what is right." "If it ain't broke, don't fix it," he said. "But as a mailman for 37 years, I dealt with the public, so I know how to talk to people when they're unhappy. That's how I see my role."

### Sheriff's son plea deal in cocaine case

INDIANAPOLIS - The son of Marion County John Layton reached a plea deal with a special prosecutor after being accused of dealing cocaine (WRTV). In January, Nikolas Layton and two other people were arrested in the case. Charges against them included dealing in cocaine, possession of cocaine and conspiracy to commit dealing in cocaine. Layton resigned from the Indianapolis Metropolitan Police Department after 10 years on the force. He'd most recently been assigned to the hit-and-run investigation unit. Marion County Prosecutor Terry Curry requested a special prosecutor for the case, citing his professional and personal relationship with Layton's father. Sources said Layton would plead guilty to conspiracy to deal cocaine and face a potential fiveyear sentence. Sentencing is scheduled for Oct. 18."

### Russian troops mass at Ukraine

WASHINGTON - As many as 40,000 Russian troops are massing on the country's border with Ukraine – prompting fears of a new military invasion (The Sun). The Pentagon has identified eight staging areas dotted along the border, suggesting Russian strongman Vladimir Putin is preparing for new incursions Fears are growing that Russia is planning new excursions into neighbouring Ukraine.